Assessing the Impact of Faith: A methodological contribution

by Anna Aiken

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A faith difference?[1][2]

What difference does faith make to the work of faith-based development organisations? As official donors increasingly recognise the complex and intense connections between religion and development, many are asking European FBOs to articulate the value added of their faith. Some staff, trustee boards and Southern partners are also asking FBOs to be more explicit about what they believe and how this makes a difference to their practice.

However, many FBOs are reticent to do this. This may be partly because: they do not want to seem exclusive; they do not want to be seen as condoning or engaging in proselytic activity; they do not want to appear arrogant; and simply because they do not know how to go about it.

Currently, there are few examples to learn from. This Praxis Note describes one attempt to research the impact of faith, using as case study an FBO-run child development programme (CDP), funded by an international sponsorship scheme. The research was undertaken by a Masters student at Birmingham University with an international FBO in Uganda. Provision of primary education was the central element of the CDP, but it also included: an FBO-funded technical school for those who struggled academically; community wide health care provision; sanitation and

hygiene projects; agricultural training and food and water storage initiatives.

This study is not put forward as a definitive methodology but as a methodological contribution. The study found evidence that in the case of this FBO, faith had a discernable impact on: child and community development; the FBO's understanding of 'development'; the design and implementation of programmes; the way the organisation relates to others; and the way the organisation behaves internally.

This is a single study site with limited methods and so it is not possible to generalise findings to the same FBO in different contexts, let alone all FBOs. However, the methods used in this case raise valid points which should be taken into consideration when planning future studies of FBOs. The process can also help an FBO in clarifying their faith identity. Potentially, this will enable them to reinforce the advantages and mitigate the risks of integrating faith into development.

Why is this important?

The distinctive contribution of faith to development is now under the spotlight. The role of faith in development has suffered decades of 'systematic neglect' (Lunn 2009). Tyndale argues that religion, if subject to any consideration at all, has been regarded as 'part of the problem rather than the solution' (2006), despite the fact that the involvement of FBOs in development issues such as education and health is 'as old as the hills' (Tyndale 2006). Tyndale suggests that this stems from reluctance on behalf of the donor community to be drawn into 'unscientific debates' concerning culture, custom, tradition and morality (2006).

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[1] This paper reflects the opinion of the author. It does not necessarily reflect the views of INTRAC.
[2] Adapted from: 'The Impact of Faith upon the Practice of Faith-Based Development Organisations' MSc dissertation September 2009. University of Birmingham.

However, this dichotomy between faith and development is now recognised as increasingly unhelpful. Donors now want to understand more about the contribution of faith to development – they want to become more faith literate. Some secular donors are now asking FBOs to articulate the value that their faith adds to their work. FBOs are also called upon to be aware of the potential risks from basing an organisation on a faith and to have strategies for mitigating such risks. For example, how the organisation will ensure it does not discriminate against those of a different or no faith.

The general literature on the value of faith in development reaches no consensus. There are examples both of faith adding and reducing value. Religion can fuel intolerance and conflict, particularly with those organisations who state conversion to be their primary objective, or who advocate a particularly inflexible theology.

Holenstein argues that there is a source of danger in what she terms 'the nature of religious conviction' (2005). She argues that as religion deals with absolutes and the 'unconditional', FBOs can 'easily take on totalitarian characteristics' (2005). This can then lead to an increased willingness to resort to coercion due to the 'sanctification' of mission, vision and values (2005).

However, faith also aids development and can assist FBOs in connecting with beneficiaries. Furthermore, the advantages of faith often correlate closely with the positives associated with social capital. A number of authors (James 2009, Clarke 2008) highlight potential benefits such as:

- providing efficient, cost effective services
- reaching the poorest
- being valued and listened to by the poor
- providing an alternative to a secular theory of development
- igniting civil society advocacy
- motivating action.

FBOs are able to help the poorest due to strong ties with local communities, established through the networks associated with faith. These ties, combined with the compassion-oriented motivations associated with many faiths, lead to FBOs being uniquely valued and trusted (James 2009). Hilary Benn, speaking as the then UK Secretary of State for International Development agreed, saying that FBOs are among the most accessible and trusted institutions of the poor (DFID 2005).

The limited empirical evidence that does exist reinforces these assertions. World Bank research in Uganda tested the assumption that faith-based service providers are more efficient than secular service providers because they are less self-serving (Reinikka & Svensson 2008). The evidence supported the hypothesis.

Despite this, moving from general statements about religion and development to measuring the impact of faith on a particular FBO is challenging. It is particularly difficult for FBOs accustomed to emphasising their 'secular professionalism' and downplaying the difference of faith (as this has been seen by donors as negative). Many FBOs are also deeply uncomfortable with a process that aims to mark them out as different or unique. Finally, many are reluctant to focus on their faith identity too much, lest it make them appear exclusive, undermining their ability to work with staff or stakeholders who do not share that faith.

In an ever more competitive and results-oriented aid environment, FBOs are being increasingly asked to define what distinctive value they can offer, and to be aware of associated risks. As a result, they are beginning to explore the difference their faith base makes. Many are also keen to ensure that their faith identity is consistently and coherently applied across the organisation, particularly decentralised organisations working in many countries with numerous field offices.

How to do it?

This is the big question. There is no established, tried and tested methodology nor are there many other studies to learn from. The typologies of FBOs that do exist are generally of limited direct application, failing to capture the nuanced influence of faith upon practice.

This Praxis Note describes one approach. It is not put forward as the 'right way', but should be seen as a contribution to a sparsely populated methodological field. The findings should therefore not be generalised to other FBOs or even the same FBO in different contexts without further research. The study's aim was to establish the impact of faith upon the practice of FBOs by exploring to what extent faith:

- impacts upon organisational culture
- influences how development is defined
- informs programme design and implementation
- informs interactions with the wider community (beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries).

Methods

The methodology was based on interpretative social science (ISS). It took one qualitative case study of one village in a regional division of an international FBO. ISS aims to find out how the world is understood by the participants by looking for 'meaning systems' (Neuman 1994). Generally, ISS incorporates the following questions:

> - What do people believe to be true?
> - What do they hold to be relevant?
> - How do they define what they are doing?

These questions informed the wider context of the study which was specifically

concerned with the ways in which faith, as a meaning system, shaped practice.

Purposive sampling was used to access individuals with the greatest insight into the research area. This was necessary due to the short term nature of the fieldwork. The majority of participants were staff members, selected from different levels of the organisation to gain a variety of perspectives. These included the country director of the programme, the regional director and staff at the local field office. Staff members were the primary sources of information.

Due to the broad nature of the research agenda, semi-structured interviews were the most appropriate tools for data collection. Interviews were shaped by four open ended questions which mirror the four objectives:

> 1. How is faith integrated into your daily routine at work?
> 2. How does faith influence the FBO's understanding of development?
> 3. Can you tell me how faith influences programme design?
> 4. How has the community changed since the FBO arrived?

The use of non-directive probing questions made it possible to further explore the response of the participant. Topic guides were used to prompt the discussion which followed on from the open-ended questions. This ensured flexibility, allowing the discussion to reflect the knowledge of the participant. The semi-structured approach allowed for progressive learning over the course of the interview and the research period. Topic guides were easily adapted to reflect new insights. Interviews with staff members were recorded and transcribed.

Key community members also took part in facilitated discussions – selected based on the position they occupied within the community and the insights they were able to offer in key areas such as education,

health and religion, seeking to understand how the faith base of the FBO had affected their experience of the FBO.

Interviews with community members were more structured. Pre-drafted questions were prepared specific to the interviewee, aiming to understand particular elements of the programme. Due to the need for translation, a list of questions was given to the interpreter in advance. However, non-directive probing questions were used to explore a response more fully if necessary.

Observation of organisational routine and programmes were important sources of information alongside formal and informal conservations. Observations enhanced understanding and were used to triangulate verbal information. The field work was supported by a desk-based review of relevant literature, including documents from the FBO.

Limitations

Firstly, ISS accepts that research cannot be value-free and that objectivity is impossible to achieve (Neuman 1994). Although values and biases cannot be eliminated it is important to be aware of them. The researcher was open about her Christian faith. A personal faith allowed confident participation in the religious elements of FBO practice. Full participation in devotions and prayer was important in observing faith in daily routine and building relationships with the staff. However, the researcher is aware that faith, theological education and social background conditions outlook. The warnings of Jeavons (2004) concerning cultural conditioning and the difficulty of understanding Christianity within a different culture are valid. This may have affected ability to understand alternative perspectives.

Secondly, there are limitations imposed upon the depth of understanding by the length of the research period (2-3 weeks). This time scale restricted the ability to assess the negative contribution of faith. It is important to note that it is much easier to explore the positives of a project/ organisation in a short period of time. To witness and successfully research any negatives requires a longer research period.

To overcome some of the limitations linked to not being able to verify findings over time, attempts were made to triangulate where possible. Interviewing a selection of staff from across the organisation, talking with the wider community and combining data sources resulted in a more rigorous assessment.

Thirdly, the length of the study meant it was not possible to compare the FBO with a secular organisation. The lack of a control group means that the question of what the difference is *between* a faith-based approach and a secular approach is unexplored. However, this was not the focus of the research question. Also, just as no one faith-based approach is alike, no one secular approach is the same. Because of this, the differences which may emerge between an FBO and a secular organisation doing similar work in one place can not be extrapolated to FBOs and secular organisations in general.

Fourthly, language was a challenge when speaking with community members. An interpreter was necessary in some interviews. This placed restrictions upon understanding and potentially some subtle meanings may have been lost.

Did faith have an impact?

Summary

This study of one programme of one FBO found faith to be crucial to organisational identity, informing present and future direction, external programmes and internal organisational behaviour. Faith was integrated into organisational culture through regular routines (devotions and decision making processes) and through

employment policies. This echoes Bradley's (2009) assertion that it is important to purposefully integrate faith into organisational systems.

However, the study found that the staff's personal beliefs were of more importance in terms of how faith influenced the regional division of this FBO on a daily basis. Staff were important in maintaining, developing and representing the faith identity, particularly in terms of how the FBO was represented in the field. Staff beliefs also led to valuable benefits which allowed for the furthering of resources due to unpaid overtime, unpaid annual leave and job commitment.

Faith was active in defining development and subsequently played an important role in programme design and implementation. However, as Berger (2003) argues, programmes will not necessarily reveal the 'uniquely religious nature' of the FBO. In the study, there were many 'secular' elements to the programme (agricultural programmes, for example). Nevertheless, the world view which inspired their inclusion rendered it 'faith-based'. Crucially, the case-study found that the impact of faith does not have to be explicit to be relevant (Jeavons 2004).

This study found that faith inspired an inclusive attitude towards the wider community to such an extent that the distinction between beneficiary and non-beneficiary was blurred in practice. Christian values were considered central to the successful development the community has experienced since 1999 and were considered by participants to be mainly responsible for the increase in social capital.

The Curse of the Dog's Head

Prior to the arrival of the FBO, a belief in a dog's head, buried underneath the school compound, had been passed down inter-generationally for over 80 years. The dog's head was believed to have cursed the village, making development impossible.

The curse was blamed for the poor educational attainment of the children in the village, low social cohesion, a lack of fidelity in marriage and a culture of begging. For the tribe to whom this village belong, cursing is regarded as 'the most heinous use of supernatural power' (Heald 1986) leading to personal and collective failings.

This study found that strengthening the community's Christian values was considered essential to the weakening of a belief in a curse which was believed to have inhibited development. This case study found that faith-based development work, if conducted sensitively, patiently and over a long period of time, is able to take on such development challenges where negative beliefs inhibit development. This is in contrast to some secular organisations who may not feel it within their mandate to challenge belief systems. This in no way implies that all traditional beliefs are anti-developmental, but in the case of the curse of the dog's head, it was.

The impact of faith was assessed in six key areas:
1. Change in the community
2. Theology and development goals
3. Selection of beneficiaries
4. Programme design and implementation
5. Staff motivation
6. Faith in internal practice

1. Community change and social capital

The faith-base of the FBO was considered by all interviewees to be essential to some of the more deep-rooted changes within the

community, particularly those linked to the weakening of negative beliefs, such as belief in the curse of the dog's head.

Since the FBO began working in the village there have been many positive changes linked to social capital generation. Bonding ties seem to have strengthened. Reports of domestic abuse to the local authority have decreased. Trust and friendship levels seem to have increased between neighbours. As one respondent said:

> 'If the idea of Godliness had not been in the FBO then nothing would have happened. Faith inspired faithfulness and trustworthiness.'

Another respondent described how she used not to leave her children with her neighbours but now does so. Many spoke of the solidarity which now exists in the community. This has led to bereavement support groups, a community football team and small savings groups providing loans. The faith identity was considered crucial to the sustainability of the programme in terms of building the capacity of the community to expand upon the work started by the FBO.

2. Theology and development goals

The project manual outlines a holistic understanding of development based on Luke 2:52 from the Bible:

> 'Jesus became wiser and stronger. He also became more and more pleasing to God and to people.' (NIV)

This verse refers to spiritual development (pleasing to God), social development (pleasing to people), intellectual development (wisdom) and physical development (strength). These four aspects prompt a holistic theory of development upon which the child development programme (CDP) is built, allowing for equal emphasis to be placed upon the explicitly religious aspects and the secular aspects to the programme.

This impact at a community level was related to the FBO's understanding of development and the consistent way they applied this throughout the organisation. Building the development framework upon the familiar and accepted Christian story made the overall purpose and aim of the FBO much more accessible to the community. It also helped the FBO gain the trust of the community. The theory of development advocated by this FBO was already familiar to the community and so faith provided common ground between the FBO and the community.

Conversion
The FBO project manual is clear that conversion to Christianity is desirable. It states that 'every child and family needs to know God and have the opportunity to hear and believe in Jesus and his redemptive work' (2006 section 1.9). The strategic plan also has 'conversion' as an explicit goal. However, there was a more ambiguous response from the staff on this issue and a degree of reluctance to discuss it fully, which led to a confused picture of where the FBO stood on the issue in terms of its daily practice.

They stated clearly that it should not be coercive. As one said:

> 'In the back of our mind, we have a desire that children come to Christ in a special way, but we are not going to compel them. We hope that the child will come to Christ but it is not a requirement'.

Nevertheless, staff had a clear interest in the spiritual well being of the children, with a strong Christian faith the desired outcome. Staff felt strongly that it was not the place of the FBO to 'force people to change beliefs but do it gently and over time'.

Staff noticeably avoided the use of the word 'conversion' and 'convert', despite its use on printed materials. They favoured less antagonist terms such as 'discipleship', 'nurturing' and 'teaching'. While Christian values were recognised as 'very very

important' the majority of staff members seemed uncomfortable with the notion of conversion as an explicit motive. One said:

> 'We don't have to convert them. We desire that they progress. Most are from Christian families and confess Christ.'

In this case, the majority of the village considered themselves Christian. Only 5% of the population were estimated to be Muslim. No Muslim children were currently registered on the programme, which is decided according to need, but Muslim children had participated in the past. Perhaps for this reason, the focus was on encouraging faith to grow rather than conversion to a new faith.

3. Selection of beneficiaries

The faith identity in this case fostered an inclusive approach to beneficiary selection. Their faith identity did not result in discrimination towards members of different faiths. Criteria used to identify eligibility for the programme were specific to the community and did not reference religious belief. The faith of the beneficiary did not impact on the selection process or the way in which they experienced the programme.

Because the development activities the FBO were involved in were broad, and because beneficiaries were from different denominations or faiths, particularly at the start of the programme in 1999 when traditional beliefs were more strongly held, the FBO limited direct use of the Bible. Community discussions were therefore based on themes, not bible studies. Explicitly religious elements like bible studies are optional.

The holistic understanding of development considers wider community development essential to the broader aim of child development. For this reason the community as a whole, including those children not enrolled on the CDP, benefited from the water and sanitation projects, adult literacy groups, the health clinic, the primary school, the implementation of wood saving stoves and food storage initiatives.

4. Programme design and Implementation

The theological understanding of development directly shaped the programme design and the programme objectives are directly linked to the FBO's holistic understanding of development.

Under the spiritual dimension the objective is for the children to know God so they can '[grow] in faith and trust' (CDP Manual 2006 section 4). For the intellectual/vocational dimension, the children are to understand God's perspective on work and 'grow in knowledge and skills so that they can cultivate their own potential' (finishing school). For the physical dimension the objective is that the children are healthy, gaining God's 'perspective on health and stewarding the physical body God gave them' (2006 p4). For the emotional and social dimension the objective is that the children understand 'God's design for life, relationships and character' and that the children increasingly have 'security, hope and purpose'. Biblical teaching clearly directs programme design and provides the standards against which programme success is assessed.

Programmes take place where appropriate and are not confined to religious venues. Many take place close to the school as this is easiest for the children. FBO-run bible studies are held in the Church of Uganda which is near the FBO's field office and the school and so is easily accessible. The Church of Uganda has been supportive of the FBO, but they have no denominational affiliation. Programmes are run in conjunction with the clinic, the school, the FBO, the community and the churches to maximise impact.

Many of the 'sub-programmes' of the broader CDP did incorporate explicitly

religious material. Staff agreed that although God was mentioned where possible, participation in explicitly religious activities was not mandatory:

> 'When we do bible classes we don't force people. They are free. People can come to them or they can choose to stay away but we think with time the few will keep passing on the messages to the others and surprisingly more people come.'

The aims and objectives of the programme are therefore grounded in a particular understanding of development arising from the faith identity of the FBO which includes 'secular' objectives as well as explicit 'spiritual' objectives.

Faith tradition was downplayed in programme design and implementation to encourage cooperation amongst church leaders and the wider community, avoiding denominational schisms. For example, the Pastor of the local Revival church stated that 'the FBO has brought unity and team spirit. We could not do this before because of denominational differences. This is the first of its kind'. A community leader stated that 'I never imagined that an Anglican could easily fellowship with a Pentecostal in one room.'

5. Staff motivation

Bradley suggests that staff motivation is secondary to the way in which faith is integrated into the 'organisational mechanics' of an FBO (2009). However, this research suggests otherwise.
Personal faith was of great importance not only in how the faith-base was expressed within the organisation's structure, also but in promoting positive, voluntaristic attitudes towards work, as discussed by James (2004).

This case study suggests that the staff play a crucial role in maintaining and developing the faith identity of the FBO. God was considered by all to be the primary source of motivation within the work place. One participant stated that faith provided the energy to persevere:

> 'You don't just do [development], there has to be a force behind it to achieve. Because in most cases when you do it without faith you end up not achieving it... you lose motivation...motivation comes with faith.'

Faith in God was cited as the main source of personal encouragement in overcoming challenges and thus key to programme successes. For example, in relation to challenging the belief in the curse it was stated that:

> 'All this negativity would not stray us, because we had the faith, we had the hope... When you have faith you become steadfast... with faith you see that future, the dream, the potential'.

The religious identity of the organisation was a deciding factor in why staff chose to work for the FBO. This gives rise to other organisational benefits. Staff did not consider career path or salary level important in comparison to the value attached to working for an FBO:

> 'I don't work with FBO simply because of salary, because there are other organisations where I would work which pays higher than FBO. But why am I with FBO? It is something different. That something different is faith.'

Furthermore, the commitment to seeing God's plan fulfilled led to an attitude towards work described as 'servant-hearted'. During the research, staff often worked overtime, including weekends for which there was no financial remuneration. Annual leave is unpaid. This means that limited financial resources go further. One participant stated that they worked this way because they were 'doing it for the kingdom', 'motivated by the love of Christ that compels us to work'. This resonates with the findings of the World Bank research.

Faith helped staff develop strong ties with one another, ensuring that the social capital

of the organisation was high. Faith was felt to '[unite] us as staff even when we are working on a number of activities making sure that we are always a team'. Faith also allowed staff to interact on an equal basis regardless of salary or seniority as:

'We are all part of the same vision'

Staff described God as their 'immediate supervisor' and all were considered equal as 'brothers and sisters in Christ.'

The faith of staff therefore resulted in significant benefits for the organisation, independent of the way faith was integrated into the structure of the organisation.

6. Faith in internal practice

Faith emerged as central to the organisational mechanics of the FBO. Devotions were held daily and were a time of particular importance to the staff. Firstly, it was considered by all to be a valuable source of collective guidance:

> 'We must first pray in the morning and call on God to come and be with us, guide us and inspire us in all our activities – we can't do anything without first consulting God to give us direction, to give us a way.'

Secondly, devotions were felt to be central to maintaining and building the faith-base of the FBO. They were not viewed as optional but mandatory to ensure that faith remained at the heart of the organisation. Thirdly, devotions were one of the main ways in which faith commitments were reviewed and managed on a daily basis.

Prayer was crucial to the decision making process. The FBO's project manual (2006) states that before starting a new CDP, it is essential to 'pray for guidance'. The study found that the FBO followed the manual recommendations. All staff spoke at length of the importance of prayer in the decision making process. One participant summarised the attitude all staff expressed:

> 'Before I take any decision I must pray about it to see if God supports the decision I am taking.'

During in-depth discussion on this topic, participants suggested that the importance of prayer in the decision making process comes from a belief that it is not the FBO who is responsible for the success of their programme, but God:

> 'It is God who sent us and through us a lot has been achieved... we (the staff) are nothing. God is using us as his vessels.'

God, as the 'immediate supervisor', was the one to whom all staff answer. Faith was considered a 'reference point' in the decision making process, ensuring that the Christian mission, vision and values of the organisation were considered first.

In terms of employment practice, the FBO requires that staff profess a personal faith in Christ where possible. However, in countries where there are fewer Christian development professionals then the requirement for Christian staff is only applicable to the manager (for example, in Bangladesh). This ensures that the most important decisions about the programme are made in line with the vision, mission and values of the FBO without compromising the quality of the programmes on the ground. However, preferring Christian staff suggests that the personal faith of employees is considered important in maintaining the faith identity of the organisation.

This finding has significant implications for FBOs working in several countries where faiths other than the one espoused by the FBO are held by the majority. If, as this study suggests, the faith of field staff is crucial in how the faith-base of the organisation is maintained and developed, and is crucial to how beneficiaries experience the FBO, how does working in a country of a different faith affect this process? And how does the impact of the faith base upon the practice of FBOs differ in such situations – particularly the 'value-added' of faith?

Conclusion

This study has five key findings:

1. The methodology was able to generate useful, if imperfect, findings about how faith identity impacts upon the work of FBO's. The findings are subject to methodological limitations but are worth pursuing.

2. The faith identity of the FBO was perceived by beneficiaries to be crucial to the success of the CDP.

3. Faith can permeate the mechanics and practice of FBOs.
   o Policies ensure that faith is integrated into core practices, including employment policy and decision making processes.
   o The faith of the field staff plays a defining role in how the faith base of the FBO was presented to the community, and how the community experienced it.
   In this case, the faith of the staff played a more significant role in how the faith of the organisation impacted upon its work than how faith was integrated into the 'operational mechanics'. This has important implications for FBO management and capacity building, as well as future FBO studies, implying that it is not enough to look at organisational structures.

4. Context emerged as very important in how FBOs chose to present their faith base. For example, in Bangladesh this FBO would have acted very differently. Once again, this has significant implications for FBO studies, particularly decentralised organisations.

5. In this one case, faith was shown to distinctively shape organisational practice. However, the impact of faith does not have to be explicit to be relevant.

The research methods used show that it is possible to begin to pin-point the impact of faith upon FBOs. Although there are clear limitations in the findings, the data gathered was useful. To be able to generalise from these conclusions requires replication within this FBO in different contexts, and to be able to generalise for other FBOs, it would need to be repeated for different organisations. Yet this case study represents a starting point to learn from and develop further.

Such a research process has potential to help an FBO clarify and re-connect with their faith identity, helping them to manage their faith-base and their interactions with secular partners. Such a study is not limited to Christian faith – it would also be useful for other faiths and belief systems.

One of the key limitations of the methodology is that any researcher will bring their self (and their particular faith or no faith) into the analysis and interpretation of findings. No researcher can ever be completely objective. In future, having more than one researcher coming from a different faith perspective may help. In addition, the need to better understand the potentially negative impact of faith could be addressed by investing considerably more time and resources. In seeking to replicate such work, it is worth seeing which limitations can be addressed cost-effectively.

This study found that faith was crucial to the identity of the FBO. Faith was central to both internal and external practice, informing all main areas from personnel issues to service delivery. The staff attracted to work for an organisation with a clear faith-identity also led to significant benefits for the organisation. The findings of this research suggest that the faith-based identity of the organisation was crucial to gaining the trust and cooperation of the target community and was considered by the participants to be the main reason for programme success. This case study also suggests that in certain circumstances, FBOs may have a particular role to play in challenging beliefs which

appear to inhibit development efforts. FBOs are more likely to see this as a valid part of their mandate.

The study suggests that the value-added generally associated with FBOs is justified. However, controversial areas, such as the primacy attached to conversion and the transparency of programme goals, were harder to clarify. It is important that FBOs are clear about where they stand on these issues.

In agreement with Clarke (2008) and the World Bank (Reinikka & Svensson 2008 p2) this study finds that 'working for God seems to matter'.

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